"In the men's department (tangaḿasha) there are several objects to be mentioned. On one of the chief posts of the house there usually hangs the big signal drum (tunduí) suspended by two lianas. This giant drum has been described as the 'telegraph' of the Jibaro Indians, but this does not exhaust its significance, as we shall presently see. Generally there is also found another and smaller drum hanging to one of the posts. This drum is of European type and originally obtained from the Canelos Indians. Its European origin may be inferred from its very name: tambora (from Spanish tambor). On one of the lateral posts several objects are to be seen: a number of chonta lances (nańki) and blowguns (uḿi, in Quichua pucuńa), a couple of quivers made of wild bamboo (chipyaťa) in which a great number of fine darts made of palm wood are placed, and frequently one or more round shields (tandaŕa). On another post, close to the fire-place where the owner of the house usually sits when preparing his tobacco water in the morning, there are certain objects illustrating the industrial art of the Indians: a bag made of monkey skin and a smaller bag of chambira fibres, a bundle of wild cotton wrapped up in banana leaves tied to the post, and, hanging from its lower open end, a spindle consisting of a thin, straight pin of chonta wood, at the lower end of which is fixed a small round wheel of chonta or a stone disc with a hole drilled in the middle. Round the spindle is generally wound some cotton thread already spun. When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he

is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names.

I may add at once that both spinning and weaving are occupations strictly limited to the male sex.

The Jibaro Indian keeps his most important personal belongings--the newly-woven loin-cloth (itipi) which he uses at the great feasts, and his ornaments, especially the feather ornaments which are liable to be attacked by moth and other insects-- in a special, big basket plaited of a certain liana and provided with a cover. This basket, called tukupi, is kept hanging from the ceiling by a liana, being lowered as occasion requires."

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
546 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
● 353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

/331 cont./

354 almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
[825] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
342 which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
[353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in
which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in
the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night,
are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual
bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and
open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells,
[353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each
person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of
which is hung his private property, in the case of women cos-
metic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
358 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is
maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily
and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a
way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and
tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean.
When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women
came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the
houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and
cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in
all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well
seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has
languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for
years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury
in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than
among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes
in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two
and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is
usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human
hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

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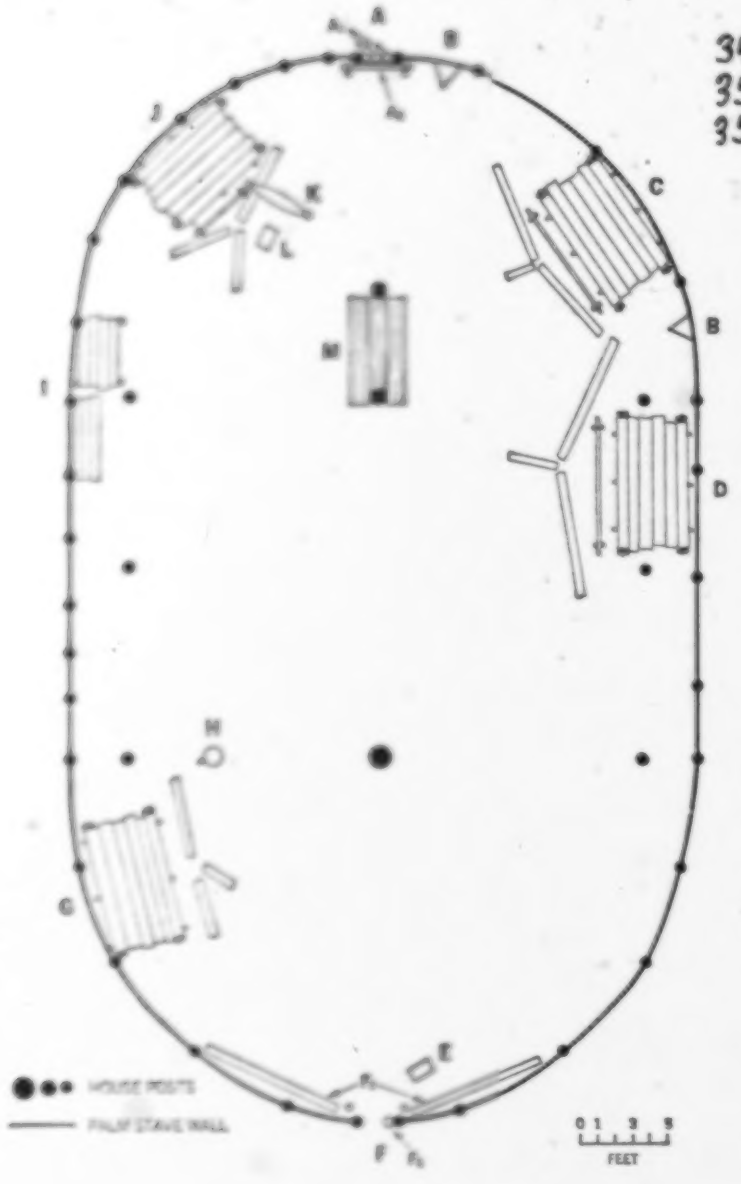

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FIGURE 1

Floor plan of a representative house (upper Río Cangaimi, 1957)

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[273]

KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kuatapá*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*ĉimpul*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

J4:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 [202] nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 [412] The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapinjuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 513 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 [351] [146] Each household has either a single large garden or several smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jivaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

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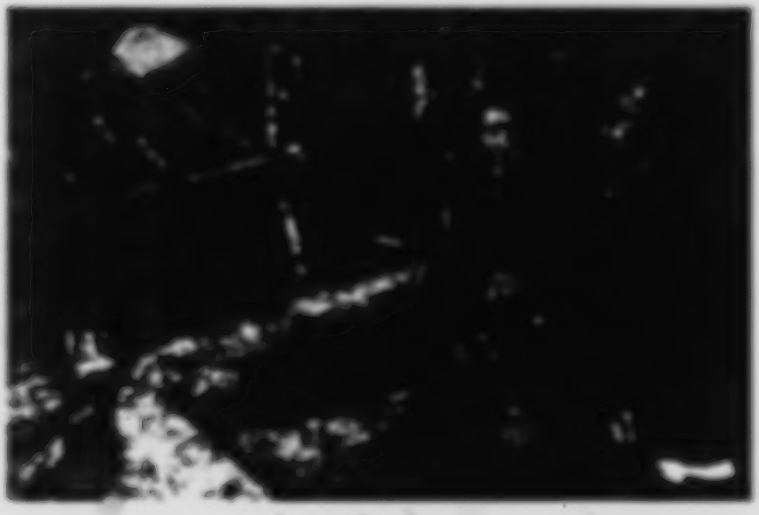
16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Rio Cangaimi, 1956-57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Rio Macuma and the upper Rio Cangaimi, 1956-57).



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M. Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125-150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the tsentsa never undergoes its final modifications.

When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the tsentsa and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 11). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the tsentsa may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

The primary purpose of the tsentsa feast, from the Jivaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose, but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as